

PATRIOTISM:

A

POLITICAL SATIRE.

By CATO REDIVIVUS.

INSTRUCTIVE Satire, true to Virtue's Cause!
Thou shining *Supplement* of Public Laws!
When *flatter'd Crimes* of a licentious Age,
Reproach our Silence, and demand our Rage;
When the *Law* shews her Teeth, but dares not bite,
And *tr-t-r-s* Actions are not brought to light;
When Men grow great from a *Revenue spent*,
And fly from Bailiffs into Parliament,
Shall Authors *smile* in such illustrious Days,
And *satirize* with nothing — but their *Praise*?
YOUNG's *Universal Passion*.

L O N D O N:

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P R E F A C E.

THE following POEM owes its Birth to no *Self-interested* or *Party View*, being solely intended as an impartial Lesson to the Author's *Compatriots of Virtue and Liberty*, to *drag out* from their *Lurking-holes*, and *pluck off the Mask* from the *disguised Enemies* of their Country; to *caution* the *Unwary*, to *rouse* the *Indolent*, and, if it be possible, raise in a *N—t—n*, *almost sunk in Despair*, a Spirit—not unbecoming that *true Loyalty* which is due to the *BEST of KINGS*, but at the same Time not possible to be withstood even by the *Wealth*, the *Interest*, or the *Arts* of the most *powerful Criminal*, while a *Spark* of *LIBERTY* remains *unextinguished* in the Breasts of *ENGLISHMEN*. The *Reputation* of the Author is superior to the Imputation of *Vanity*, that concomitant Symptom of an almost epidemical Disease—the *Cacoethes Scribendi*; the *Integrity* of the Author, impervious to the *Rays* of *ministerial Sunshine*. To be subservient to a Party is, in *his* Opinion, the *base* Office of a *Slave*; because the *Eye* of Party sees nothing but quite *white* or quite *black*, observes no Degrees between them, and can distinguish no *middle* Colour that partakes of *both*. To please or displease *any* Party, therefore, was not the *End* of the Author. As a Proof of his *Impartiality*, he has stigmatized the Heads of *all* Parties, from a Conviction that the *Fever* of Party, that *Lues Britannica*, if not soon remedied, like *CORRUPTION*, cannot otherwise terminate than in the *Destruction* of the *BODY POLITIC*. Nothing can demon-

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strate

strate the *Absurdity*, I was going to say *Villainy*, of *Party* more clearly, than that an *honest* Man *will not*, a *candid* Man *cannot*, defend *any* Party in *all* Particulars; because *every* Party in *some* Particulars does Things which cannot be defended. The Civil Wars which overwhelmed, and at length ended in the RUIN of OLD ROME, first took their Rise from an Eagerness which GREAT MEN shewed for POWER and EMPLOYMENTS. Hence arose PARTIES, supported by BRIBERY and CORRUPTION in all the *Elections of Magistrates*; a Practice which, if it be suffered to take Root and spread itself in *any* Nation, Experience of past Ages teaches us, can end only in *absolute Monarchy*;—that *Tyranny of ONE Man*.

If we call back to our Memories those *Party Divisions* in *our own* Nation only, whose *Contests* formerly brought even the *fundamental Principles* of our CONSTITUTION into Question, and whose *Excesses* brought LIBERTY to the very Brink of Ruin, it is not unnatural to imagine, that the bare Reflections necessarily arising to every Lover of his Country from such fatal Incidents, might *animate* some Persons of *high Distinction*, *great Character*, *Abilities*, and *Merit*, who have *enlisted* themselves under the *Banner of Party* through a *Lust* for *Power* and *Employments*, to allay those Heats that at present rage among them, and distract the Nation—to adhere to the *true Ideas* of our CONSTITUTION, and *revive* in the Minds of Men the *Spirit* of it—to prevent the Dangers that threaten to arise from CORRUPTION to the *Independency* of PARLIAMENT and the *Freedom* of Elections,—and *thereby* unite Men of *all Denominations* in Support of the PRINCIPLES, in *Defence* of the MEANS, and in *Pursuit* of the ENDS of the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, that *Foundation* of the present HAPPY SETTLEMENT of the *Throne*, that *only Support* of the *Superstructure*; for upon the *Principles* of it the *present Establishment* was built, and upon *them alone* it can stand *secure*. Whatever strengthens the *Foundation*, must strengthen the *Superstructure*, and *both*, co-operating, promote the *important Interest* of our COUNTRY, the
true

true Interest of our *Royal Master*, and the *private* Interest of every *Individual* in a *FREE* State: I say the *true* Interest of our *Royal Master*; for a *Prince*, who prefers *right Policy* to *Trick*, a *just System* to *Expedient*, and the *Nation* to a *Cabal*, will engage all the *Hearts*, and employ all the *Heads* and *Hands* of *his People*, govern with *Strength*, *Splendor*, and *Security*, and is sure of rising to that *Summit* of absolute *Power* by *supporting* *LIBERTY*, which the most *successful* *TYRANT* may wish for, but never can attain, by *imposing* *TYRANNY*. But *odious* must be the *Person*, *execrable* the *Character* of that *PRINCE*, and *wretched* the *State* of that *PEOPLE*, where the *Prince* makes use of his *Power* to *subvert*, or *even weaken*, that *CONSTITUTION*, which ought to be the *sole Measure* of his *Government*.

I know nothing that has more employed the Pens of Writers, or has been more the Subject of Conversation, yet at the same Time hath been *less understood*, than the *CONSTITUTION* of *ENGLAND*; and this, from confounding *often* in Writing, and almost *always* in Conversation, the true Distinction betwixt *Constitution* and *Government*. *CONSTITUTION* is that *Rule* by which our *Princes* ought to govern at *all Times*; *GOVERNMENT* is that by which they *actually do* govern at *any particular Time*. *GOVERNMENT* is that *particular Tenor* of Conduct, which *Magistrates* pursue in the Administration of public Affairs; and *CONSTITUTION* the *Criterion* to try that *Government*, whether it be agreeable to the *Rule* by which the *PEOPLE* ought to be governed. By the *Word*, *CONSTITUTION*, I understand an *Assemblage* of *fundamental Laws*, *Institutions*, and *Customs*, derived from certain *fixed Principles* of *REASON*, directed to certain *fixed Objects* of *PUBLIC Good*, that compose the general *System*, according to which the *COMMUNITY* hath *AGREED* to be governed. By the *CONSTITUTION* of *ENGLAND*, I understand such an *Assemblage* of *fundamental Laws*, *Institutions*, and *Customs*, as are best suited to the *fixed Principles* of a *FREE* *monarchial* State, and have been *agreed to* and *ENACTED*, as the national *Rule* of *Government*,

ment, by the *three concurring Persons* of the KING—the COMMONS—and the LORDS; and these *three* compose the BODY POLITIC; the KING, who has the whole *executive* Power lodged in him, and is properly the *Guardian* and *Protector* of the *Laws*; a Member, but the *supreme Member* or *Head* of the BODY POLITIC;—the HOUSE OF COMMONS, who speak the Sense of the NATION in Parliament—and the LORDS, who are the MEDIATORS between the CROWN and the PEOPLE. This *national Rule* of Government is comprized in MAGNA CHARTA, the BILL OF RIGHTS, and the ACT OF SETTLEMENT, strengthened by several other *Acts* of *Parliament* made in consequence of, and consonant to, them. Of the *first* of which I shall in this Place take little Notice, as not immediately respecting the Purpose of this *Preface*, and shall confine my Observations more particularly to the BILL OF RIGHTS *agreed to* at the REVOLUTION, and afterwards *confirmed* by PARLIAMENT; that NEW ÆRA, that *new* MAGNA CHARTA, by which our former *Principles of Government, Measures of Obedience, and Obligations* were *renewed—strengthened—and ascertained*; PRINCIPLES, MEASURES OF OBEDIENCE, and OBLIGATIONS, which we are bound, by all the *Ties of Society*, and by all the *Motives of Interest*, to support; for to this *second* MAGNA CHARTA, to *these Principles*, we stand indebted for the ACT OF SETTLEMENT; an *Act* which, strengthened by subsequent Statues, was made to secure to us those Blessings which were *intended*, but *not fulfilled*, by the REVOLUTION, and to anticipate those Dangers which we had fatally *experienced* from *former*, and, therefore, justly apprehended from *future* Reigns, if we were not guarded against them.

The *avowed Design* of the REVOLUTION was “ *to establish the*
 “ *Peace, Honour, and Happiness of these Nations upon lasting Foun-*
 “ *dations,—and to procure a Settlement of the RELIGION, and of the*
 “ *LIBERTIES and PROPERTIES of the Subjects upon so sure a*
 “ *Foundation, that there might be no Danger of the Nation’s relapsing*
 “ *into*

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“ *into the* LIKE MISERIES *at any Time* HEREAFTER.” * The *principal End* of the REVOLUTION was to secure us against *all* those Dangers to which PUBLIC LIBERTY *in particular* had been exposed; nor was the *least* of those Dangers CORRUPTION, that had been employed to create a Dependence of the *two Houses of Parliament* on the CROWN. For, unless the FREEDOM of ELECTIONS and the INTEGRITY and INDEPENDENCY of *Parliaments*, those *Essentials* of BRITISH LIBERTY, that *Causa sine qua*, (as the Logicians term it) LIBERTY can never be secure, be preserved *pure* and *unstained*, our *so much boasted* CONSTITUTION would be nothing but a *pompous Trifle*; like ECCHO, *Vox et prætereà nihil*; a *meer Rattle*, serving only to amuse the PEOPLE, as you would Children; and that in Matters wherein they ought not to be *deceived*, nor *so much as amused*. PARLIAMENTS are the *Guardians* of LIBERTY. For THIS End they were instituted. THIS is the *principal* Article of that *great and noble* Trust which the *collective Body* of the PEOPLE of GREAT BRITAIN repose in their *Representatives*. An *Integrity* and *Independency*, of which *private* Independency, that can be supported only by *ancient* OECONOMY, is the *strongest Bulwark*, as LUXURY is the surest Instrument of *Arbitrary Power*; for so long as *that* *Oeconomy* subsists, a FREE Nation can be neither *bought* nor *driven*. But what Idea of the most extravagant Misery to a Nation can we form equal to that, where the PEOPLE, made *Bubbles* by being *bribed* with *their own* Money, *filched* out of their Pockets by *corrupt* and *corrupting* M—m—rs and by *indirect* Means, chuse their Representatives for *Money* without any other Regard, and those *Representatives* of the *People*, as well as the N—B—L—TY, are reduced by *Luxury* to beg the *unblessed Alms* of a COURT, and to receive, like *miserable Hirelings*, their *Wages* of *Iniquity*? When this happens to be the Case of *any* Nation, (*happy* this Nation that it is *not yet our* Case!) the *Corrupted* runs into the Arms of the *Corruptor*, or perhaps — to *raise the Price*, meets him but half way. Can such a

* See the Prince of Orange's Declaration.

M—mb—r be justly deemed the *Representative* of the PEOPLE? Might he not more properly be stiled the *Representative* or *Eccbo* of the *Min—st—r*, whose Property, by such *slavish Prostitution*, he becomes. A *voluntary SLAVE* is so much the most *detestable* of Characters, that, one would imagine, the very Idea of it would *shame* those, who have not lost *all Sense of Shame*, out of the Commission of so *ignominious* a Crime, and make those who have not lost *every other Sense*, tremble at the *Consequences* of it.

To prevent the spreading, and, if it be possible, to eradicate every Symptom of a Disease so fatally pernicious to the *Body Politic* as CORRUPTION, many salutary Remedies were prescribed by our *Constitution*, strengthened by other subsequent Laws, to which the severest Penalties were annexed on the Breach of them. By the BILL OF RIGHTS, that *second MAGNA CHARTA* (beyond Dispute an *Act of Parliament* the most solemn, made so by the *Confirmation* of KING, LORDS and COMMONS) it was declared, that “ELECTIONS OUGHT TO BE FREE.” By the 5th and 6th of W. and M. c. 20. §. 48, it was enacted, that “no Person employed in the “collecting or managing the Duties of EXCISE (extended by the “12th and 13th of W. III. c. 10. §. 89. to the CUSTOMS) shall, “by *Word, Message, or Writing*, or in *any other Manner*, endeavour “to *persuade* any Elector to give, or *dissuade* any Elector from giving, “his Vote at Elections, under the *Penalty of one hundred Pounds*.”—By a Clause in the ACT OF SETTLEMENT it was provided, that “no Person *who had any Office or Place of Profit under the King*, or “*received any Pension from the Crown*, should be capable of sitting as “a Member of the House of Commons.” But this last-recited Clause (in *obedience to the Legislature* we shall suppose) for GOOD REASONS was repealed by the 6th Q. Anne, c. 7. §. 4. And by the same Act “all Persons who *after their Election into Parliament* “shall accept of any *Office of Profit whatsoever* under the *Crown* “(except in the *Army or Navy*) are declared incapable of sitting in “the House unless RE-ELECTED.” And by the 2d of his late Majesty,

Majesty, c. 24. §. 1. it was enacted, that “ if any Person claim-
 “ ing a Right to vote at any Election shall *receive* any *Money* or *other*
 “ *Reward*, or shall *agree* for any *Money*, *Gift*, *Office*, *Employment*
 “ or *Reward*, to give his Vote, or to forbear to give his Vote, such
 “ *Offender* shall forfeit *five hundred Pounds*.” And to carry the In-
 tention of this Act the more effectually into Execution, every
 Elector, *before* he is admitted to poll, is required to take the
 following Oath: “ I, *A. B.* do *swear* (or being one of the People
 “ called Quakers) I, *A. B.* do *solemnly affirm* I have not received or
 “ *had—by myself—or any other Person whatsoever—in Trust for me—*
 “ *or for my Use or Benefit—DIRECTLY or INDIRECTLY—any Sum*
 “ *or Sums of Money—Office—Place or Employment—Gift or Reward—*
 “ *or any PROMISE or Security for any Money—Office—Employment—*
 “ *or Gift—in order to give my Vote at this Election.*” LAWS, which,
 if we consider them *theoretically*, seem to give the greatest Strength
 and Security to our LIBERTIES, that most important and essential
 Article: for, as the *Members* of the HOUSE of COMMONS are the
Trustees and *Guardians* of all we have, and of all our Posterity, the
Freedom and *Independency* of that *Assembly* is unquestionably the Sup-
 port of them all, the *Foundation* upon which the *Fabric* of our
 whole CONSTITUTION depends. But of what Efficacy, or to what
 End, is the best System of Laws in the Universe composed, if they
 are as *ill executed* as they are *wisely framed*? GOOD GODS! is it
 possible for a Man almost daily to meet CORRUPTION publicly
 stalking thro’ every Street and Alley of a *Borough* — to see the FREE-
 HOLDER and the ELECTOR (greater in their civil Capacity than
 the greatest Subject of an *arbitrary* Prince) wallowing in *Gluttony*
 and *Drunkenness*, the *Price* of their LIBERTIES; led in a *golden*
 Halter, like the Ox to the Slaughter, and, ESAU like, selling their
 Birth-right for Pottage — to hear of *ten*, sometimes *twenty thou-*
sand Pounds spent at an Election in *corrupting* the *Electors* — to
 know, to have been *personally offered*, nay, publicly and frequent-
 ly, four thousand Pounds to get *one*, and six thousand Pounds *two*
 Members returned; is it possible, I say, to *know* all this, and at

the same Time to believe that there are *any* Laws in being, made for the *Restraint* of BRIBERY and Corruption, much less Laws inflicting severe Penalties and other exemplary Punishments upon those who are guilty of it? Or, if he does believe that there *are* such Laws, what can he think other than that those Laws, like the SALUS POPULI, that SUPREMA LEX, are *obsolete*, or came into the World *still-born*—without *Life*, as without *Energy*? If the Laws in being have not sufficient Potency to bridle and restrain BRIBERY and CORRUPTION, or if there are any artful *Cbicaneries* or *Evasions*, by Means of which the End and Intention of them are defeated, why are not *new Barriers* of Law *raised* against so encroaching and dangerous a Vice? Where is the Power and MAJESTY of the PEOPLE, the ORIGINAL COMPACT, the AUTHORITY and INDEPENDENCE of PARLIAMENT? Where are your *boasted* LIBERTIES, if such an *Inundation* of CORRUPTION be suffered to break in upon and overwhelm your *Laws* and CONSTITUTION? The last and best Security for the *Liberties* of a PEOPLE is a PARLIAMENT *free and independent*, that *Fountain*, which, while it remains pure and untainted, will render it impossible to *corrupt* the *Streams*, from whence the *Health* and *Vigour* of the CONSTITUTION flow. To *pollute* the *Spring*, therefore, by employing the *Friends* to the GOVERNMENT against the CONSTITUTION, to overturn the *Liberties* of a *Country* by the *Corruption* of the *Electors* and *Elected*, is the *artful* and most *dangerous* EXPEDIENT of WICKED MINISTERS. To DIVIDE and to CORRUPT have been ever the *Part* which they have *acted* on the *Stage* of GOVERNMENT in order to accomplish the Destruction of their COUNTRY. Notions of LIBERTY are so interwoven in the very Being of FREE Subjects, and *the* least Suspicion of its being in Danger, fires the Soul to such a Degree of generous Indignation, that he must be a *petty* POLITICIAN who attacks a PEOPLE'S LIBERTIES *directly*; the *Means* are *dangerous*, and the *Success* uncertain. But the *wily* STATESMAN *disguises* the *fatal Hook* with the Bait of seeming present Advantage in *corrupting* the *Elector* and the *Representative*; and thus the easy thoughtless
Victims

Victims are made the Instruments of their own *Slavery*; nor do they know that the Mine is laid, till the goodly *Pile* comes *tumbling* on their Heads.

My Readers will, I hope, pardon me, if a just Regard to the CONSTITUTION obliges me to repeat, *here*, a Distinction which in the former Part of this Preface I made betwixt CONSTITUTION and GOVERNMENT. “ CONSTITUTION is the Rule by which our
 “ Princes OUGHT to govern at ALL Times: GOVERNMENT is that
 “ by which they ACTUALLY DO govern at ANY PARTICULAR Time.
 “ GOVERNMENT is the particular TENOR OF CONDUCT, which
 “ Magistrates PERSUE in the Administration of public Affairs: CON-
 “ STITUTION is the CRITERION to TRY that Tenor of Conduct,
 “ whether it be agreeable to that Rule by which the People OUGHT to
 “ be governed.” A Distinction which has been no less villainously
 than fallaciously confounded by a mercenary Band of prostitute Scrib-
 blers; those Drummers and Trumpeters, who, like the Musicians
 employed at a funeral Pile in the EAST-INDIES *, are hired to
 drown the Groans of their expiring Country. The Object of these
 Miscreants is to destroy the CONSTITUTION under the Pretence of
 preserving the GOVERNMENT, by corrupting the Parliaments. Not
 that this Doctrine, abominable as it is in its Nature, and pernicious in
 its Effects, is confined in the Use of it to those lower Hirelings. I
 wish that Truth did not give Reason to say, that I have heard it
 frequently pleaded and recommended, as a necessary Expedient of
 Government, by MEN, whose Birth, Education and Fortune aggra-
 vate their Crime and their Folly; by MEN, whom Honour at least
 should restrain from favouring so dishonourable a Cause. They plead
 for Corruption as necessary to strengthen the Hands of those who

* It is a Custom in the East-Indies, that, when the Husband dies, his favourite Wife, as a Mark of her extreme Affection for the Deceased, throws herself upon the funeral Pile, and is burnt alive with the dead Body of her Husband, and during the whole Ceremony divers Instruments of Music are placed to prevent the Shrieks and Cries of the dying Woman from being heard.

govern, and that it serves to *oil* the *Wheels* of Government. Certainly, so absurd a Doctrine cannot sink deep into the Minds of any but those who desire to be deceived. It is so *futilis et vana*, (as the Roman Orator would have called it) that, like Oil poured upon Water, it can *float* only upon the Surface of the Mind *without incorporating*; for every Man must reject *in Theory* such Cobweb-Arguments as break in the very *handling* of them, if every Man would *think*; and every Man must reject them *in Practice*, if every Man would *act with Freedom*. A Doctrine so *ridiculous*, as well as *iniquitous*, that a FREEMAN *will not*, an honest Man *cannot*, avow it; a Prostitution so abandoned, as well as *villainous*, that the lowest Miscreant of ministerial Tools ought not to *mention* without *blushing*. Is our CONSTITUTION *sunk so low*, or our GOVERNMENT so *bad*, that it cannot be upheld but by such HONOURABLE Props as BRIBERY and CORRUPTION? If it be not, a good Government cannot want Power under our present Constitution; a *bad* one may, and it is fit it should. POPULARITY is the Expedient of *one*, and will effectually support it: nothing but *Corruption* can support the other. If *this* Doctrine were to prevail; if to support Government there is a Necessity of *Places and Pensions*, or any *pecuniary Influence* among the Members of the HOUSE of COMMONS, if such an *Influence* was to be universal and unlimited thro' the whole House, the MONARCHY would be *absolute*; and *our* CONSTITUTION would be a Constitution having Representatives of the PEOPLE that are engaged NOT to represent them, nor to vote and act, as they would vote and act, if uninfluenced by *private Interest* and *corrupt Motives*. The *Form* only of Government would be preserved: the CONSTITUTION, which is the *Essence* of Government, would be *destroyed*: it would be the worst of Tyranny under the *Appearance* of Law. The *Form* of the FREE Government of ROME was preserved under the *arbitrary* Government of the Emperors: there was a Senate, Consul, and Tribunes, which may be compared to our K—g, L—ds and C—mm—ns; and yet the Government under the Emperors was always *despotic*, often *tyrannical*. Instances, like this, point out
to

to us the *glorious Land-marks* for our Safety, and bid us be *wise in Time*, before CORRUPTION has made so great a Havock among us. We have gone far, very far, into *Corruption*. MACHIAVEL tells us, “ there is a Point of *Corruption*, to which no Nation can arrive “ and *recover* their LIBERTIES, if they *are lost*, or can *preserve* them “ if they are *not lost*.” The same great Author, in his political Discourses, lays down this Position; that “ no Government can “ long enjoy LIBERTY, unless it be brought back to its *original* “ *first Principles*.” It is the Nature of all Governments to degenerate: it naturally deviates from its first Institution, which is the ADVANTAGE of SOCIETY with *Civil Liberty*; till at last it attains such a Degree of *Corruption*, that, in Contradiction to the original Institution by which the *Prince* was considered only as the *Servant* of the PUBLIC, the PUBLIC are obliged to be the *Slaves* of the PRINCE. To what Degree of *Corruption* our Government may have arrived, or how it may call to be brought back to its first Principles, I shall leave to others to determine.

If my *Fellow-Countrymen*, the ELECTORS of GREAT-BRITAIN, would but submit to make a few common Reflections, such as naturally arise in every unprejudiced dispassionate Mind, would they not look upon, and think worthy only to be treated, as a *Madman*, any Person that should desire them who knew neither his *Fortune*, his *Character*, nor even his *Person*, to make him their *Trustee* in the Management and Disposal of their Family and Fortune? Every *Family* is a little Government; a *Representative* in *Parliament* is a *Trustee* for the *Represented*: And the same Principles that actuate a Man in the Management of the Concerns of a *private* Trust, will govern him in that which regards the *Public*, with this Difference, that, as the *Abuse of Trust* in the *one* would be more fatal in its Consequences than in the *other*, in Proportion as the Power to *abuse* it is more extensive, they should be *much more* solicitous about the Choice of the TRUSTEES and GUARDIANS of their CONSTITUTION and LIBERTIES, upon the Enjoyment of which *all other* Blessings in Life depend,

depend, than of those of a *more private* and *less consequential* Concern. They would consider that, to return the *boni et legales Homines* DE VICINETO to *Parliament*, as well as upon *Juries*, would alike redound to their *Honour* and their *Interest*: To their *Honour*, as they would thereby shew, that they preferred *real* and *substantial* to *transitory* and *pecuniary* Motives; and that they disdained to *sell* their *Country*, and make themselves the Instruments of their own *Ruin*: To their *Interest*, as their *Countrymen*, their *Acquaintance*, perhaps, their *Relations*, governed by the *same provincial Laws*, in the *same Interests*, and of the *same Connexions*, would be more *capable*, as well as *inclined*, to promote their *commerical* and other *Welfare*, than STRANGERS, whose *Faces* they never saw *before* the *Election*, and may probably never see again till the *Determination* of *Seven Years*. They would reflect, that a *triennial* or *septennial* Boon, as *ill-spent* as it is *ill-gotten*, makes no Amends for the *Loss* of *Liberty*, *Credit* and *Reputation*, which are the *Support* of *Commerce*, and the *greatest Comfort* to an *honest Mind*.—That Men, no less *prostitute* than themselves, who had *bought* them, as they would *Cattle* in a *Market*, at the *Price* of *three, six*, and sometimes *ten THOUSAND Pounds*, would think that they had an equal *Right* to *sell* them again, and had *no other End* in purchasing them:—That their *Corruption* is the *Cause* of their *Poverty*, more than their *Poverty* is the *Cause* of their *Corruption*:—And that *History* gives no *Example* of any *Nation* that ever regained their *Liberties*, when they had *tamely consented* to the *Loss* of them, or *infamously sold* them for the present *Supply* of their *Luxury* and *Vice*: But their unhappy *Posterity* for ever *groaned* under the *Inheritance* of *Slavery*, delivered down to them by their *Forefathers*.

How far an *Election* can be justly deemed *FREE* and agreeable to the *Spirit* of the *Constitution*, where the *Electors* are influenced by the *Intreats*, *Gifts*, *Promises*, or other *Interposition* of *P—RS*, that *separate* and *third Part* of the *Body-Politic*, intended by the *CONSTITUTION* as *Mediators* between the *CROWN* and the *PEOPLE* in *Parliament*,

Parliament, I shall chuse rather to refer my Countrymen, for a Satisfaction therein, to the Journals of the *House of Commons*, than pretend to determine. Much less will I presume to compare (as I have heard often compared) this Interposition of P—rs in the *Elections of Representatives of the PEOPLE*, and their *Views* therein, to the Interposition of the *ambitious GREAT* in *Old Rome* at the Election of *TRIBUNES*, whose Views were palpably directed to the securing of the *Votes and Interest* of the *TRIBUNES*, when *elected*, in the Execution of their P--RR--C--D-L *Schemes*, the Consequence of which *Rome* severely felt : For (as *CICERO* tells us *) “ a long Experience had shewn, that the *TRIBUNES* “ had always been the *TOOLS* of all the *Ambitious*, who had any “ Designs of *advancing themselves above the Laws*; for, by *corrupt-* “ *ing* one or more of the *TRIBUNES*, which they were sure there- “ by to effect, (at the worst) by paying them to their full Price, “ they could either obtain from the *PEOPLE* whatever they want- “ ed, or obstruct, at least, whatever should be attempted against “ them.” The Consequence of which, were not *GREAT-BRITAIN* honoured with P—rs as noble in *Principle* as they are in *Blood*, every *honest Man* would *dread*, every *Lover of his Country* would *tremble to think of*, and every *wise Man* would, *totis Viribus*, labour to prevent : For (were this ever to be the Fate of this Nation—(avert it, *HEAVEN*!) we might soon be an *ARISTOCRATICAL*, with the *Name only* of a *free MONARCHIAL*, State. But *this* I will presume to assert, that by Stat. Westm. 1, 3, Ed. I. c. 5. (an Act made long before *BRIBERY* and *CORRUPTION* had found out the Art of tainting the *FREEDOM* of *ELECTIONS*, and the *INDEPENDENCY* of *PARLIAMENT*) it is enacted, that, *No Great Man, by Force of Threats, shall disturb any free ELECTION to be made, upon great Forfeiture*, every Elector would, within himself, seriously reflect, that he is guilty of the greatest Crime Human Nature is capable of, if he be *any ways accessory* to the *enslaving* his Country. Though he has but *one Vote*, many Units make a Number. If

* De Leg. iii. 9.

every Elector should join the Stream of *Corruption*, by means of reasoning with himself, that “ *he has but one Vote*, and of what “ Weight will *one Vote* be to carry an Election, where there are, “ perhaps, Hundreds,” what must become of the Whole? A *Law* of great Consequence, and the Election of a *Member* who voteth for *that Law*, may be both carried by *one Vote*. Great and important Services for the Liberties of a Country have been done by *ordinary Men*. I have read that the Institution of the *Tribunes*, or the whole Power of the *Commons*, in Rome, was owing to a Word spoke in Season by a *common Man*.

To YOU, my FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN *in general*, I now address myself: If you *are* FREE, *dare* to THINK and ACT *like* FREEMEN! like Men who *deserve* to be FREE. Be not *distinguished* out of your CONSTITUTION, nor suffer your LIBERTIES to be *explained away* by pretended *Friends of the* GOVERNMENT, and real *Enemies of the* CONSTITUTION! If any Symptoms appear, which shew that the *Poison* of CORRUPTION hath made any Progress in tainting the Morals of the People, and restraining the FREEDOM OF ELECTIONS, let this Progress be checked *in Time* by a Spirit becoming ENGLISHMEN; and, *before* the *Disease* becomes *incurable*, let the POWER of *poisoning* be taken from these *Empirics*, these *political Quack-Doctors*, the LICENCIATES of DESPOTISM, who dispense their *Quackeries* in all the great Coffee-houses at the *West End* of the Town, *disguising* their *Poisons* with a pretended *Zeal for Liberty*, a *specious* Concern for the *Corruption* of the *Times*, and the utmost seeming Detestation of the Government of *all* the M—N—RS of the present Age *indiscriminately*; and, the more easily to induce the PEOPLE to consent to swallow the fatal Pill of ABSOLUTE POWER, they *gild* their *Poison* with this stale and sophistical Argument, that “ a Prince of “ such Magnanimity, and Justice as our present Monarch, cannot “ be tempted by *any* Motives to abuse the Confidence, *however* “ great, that we may place in him; and, consequently, that our “ Liberties would be much safer under his *absolute* Direction, than “ under

“ under the Government of *M—n—rs* whom *they* never forget to
 “ load with the Title of IGNORANT, and many other the most *con-*
 “ *tumelious* Epithets:”

HI *nigri* sunt.—Ergo, HOS TU, ROMANE, Caveto! HOR.

Not that this Doctrine is confined to the Conversation of *Coffee-houses*, the Press too groans under the Weight of the Labours of such PAR-
 RICIDAL Scribblers. You have (I am fully persuaded) a much
 higher Idea than such *mercenary Tools* can have, of the many emi-
 nent and transcendent Virtues of our *Royal Master*, that BEST OF
 KINGS, and of the just Sense he entertains of the Obligations which
he and his Family have to the *British Nation*, by whom they were
 made *Kings*; and, consequently, that he aims not at greater Power
 than is consistent with the CONSTITUTION they were *intrusted* to
preserve, and *obliged* to *secure*. But, though his present Majesty emu-
 lates—did I say *emulates*?—I would have said *surpasses*, in heroic Vir-
 tues, his *immortal Predecessor* our GREAT DELIVERER, King WIL-
 LIAM, you are not sure, that a TITUS will succeed every VESPA-
 SIAN; and though it *may not*, CANNOT happen that so dismal an
 Effect as *Tyranny* should, in *this Reign*, attend such a *complaisant*
Surrender of your LIBERTIES, yet (as I have before observed)
 History does not afford one Instance where a Nation has *once* given
 up their *Liberties*, and *ever* recovered them again; it is, therefore,
 a Duty which you owe to your COUNTRY, to you CHILDREN,
 and your POSTERITY, to *guard* against a NERO in a *future* Reign.
 The only Means of effecting this is by *preserving* the FREEDOM of
 ELECTIONS, and INDEPENDENCY of PARLIAMENTS. Let us lay
 aside our Prejudices, check our Passions, and consider the *Nation*
 in a *due Extent* and in a *clear Light*. It is a Point at this Crisis so
 essential, that our *being* or *not being* a Nation almost entirely depends
 upon it: And if we do not take the Resolution to do it *now*, it may
 probably be out of our *Power* to do it *hereafter*. I have shewn
 what our *excellent* CONSTITUTION is; let us prize it as we ought—

by *preserving* it *untainted* and *inviolable*! Thus shall we *truly* serve our PRINCE; thus shall we *do our Duty* to our COUNTRY, and *preserve* OURSELVES in the Condition for which all Men were originally designed—that of a FREE PEOPLE. This will be the Means of establishing the Throne—not on the tottering Foundation of C—RT CRAFT, or B—TE—N and GR—LL—N *unconst—t—t—nal Expedients*, but on the POPULARITY of the PRINCE, and the UNIVERSAL AFFECTION of his SUBJECTS: Whereas, to *foment*, instead of *healing*, national Divisions; to *divide*, instead of *uniting* the *Heads, Hearts, and Hands* of a FREE PEOPLE; to *debauch* and *corrupt*, instead of *reclaiming* and *improving*, their *Morals*, are EXPEDIENTS by which any Prince who pursues them may *risque*, if not in the End *lose*, that Power he *has*, for a Power he *does not want*.

These are the *Principles* of an OLD WHIG; *this* the *Doctrine* of a *True Englishman*, who is void of all Ambition, but the Ambition of an *honest Fame*; and whose *only End* is to *secure*, to *fortify*, to *perpetuate* our excellent System of GOVERNMENT, the most perfect System of Government in the Universe—Reflections, such as arise from the *Nature* of our CONSTITUTION, the *Principles* of LIBERTY, and the *Precedents* of FREE States.

The AUTHOR is not unaware, that there are Persons who may possibly *dignify* him with the *Reproach* of *Faction*, and the *Title* of *Incendiary*: But those are *Honours*, by which every true Friend of his Country, who has had the same *honest* Intentions as himself, has been before so often *distinguished*, that these *generous Eulogists* will excuse him, if he should consider their *Presents* only as the *Common-place Compliments* of *Hireling Scribblers*, who *write* that they may *eat*, and themselves as Objects worthy only of a *contemptuous Silence*. If the Author has pressed his Arguments with a more than common Degree of Warmth, he hopes that it will be thought at least pardonable, as it was a Warmth that arose in the *Manliest*, the *Noblest*, and *Best* Cause in the World—the Cause of his COUNTRY;

TRY; and the rather, as he flatters himself, that it came not unattended with one Merit,—that, while he *speaks* to the *Passions*, he appeals to the *Judgment*, of the PUBLIC. The *Laws* of his *Country* are his *Protection*, as, were he guilty, it would be his Punishment: And, whilst a Spark of British Spirit remains in a *British* Parliament, he cannot be alarmed with any Apprehension of *arbitrary Constructions*, *false Surmise*, or *invidious Comments*, that mean *Invention* of little Minds, that *base Engine* of wicked MINISTERS, by a Restraint of the PRESS to *undermine the Bulwark* of ENGLISH LIBERTY. And, whoever shall attempt to DECYPHER the Author's Desire of *doing Good* into a petulant Humour for DOING MISCHIEF, or into the Effect of *Passion* or *Disappointment*, must expect to be treated by him as deserving Contempt only, not Notice.

Having said so much in regard to the *Preface*, it may be expected that the Author should say something with respect to the *Characters* in the *Poem*; as likewise to account how a Person, who has never appeared upon the Stage of the Public in the Character of a *Poet*, should dare to enter that Province, without having first *purchased a Passport* from those Captain-Generals of PARNASSUS, the MONTHLY and CRITICAL REVIEWERS, as they stile themselves. As the Character of SEJANUS was taken from PATERCULUS and TACITUS, that of CICERO was extracted chiefly from SÜETONIUS, LUCAN*, and SERVIUS†, with this Difference, that the Scene of Action only has been varied, in order to modernize the Character. What induced the Author more par-

* Momentumque fuit *mutatus* CURIO rerum,
Gallorum captus spoliis, et Cæsaris auro. LUCAN, IV. 319.

† SERVIUS applies that Passage in Virgil, “*Vendidit hic auro patriam,*” to the Case of CURIO's *selling Rome* to CÆSAR.

particularly to make CURIO a Character in his Satirical Poem, was the Indignation which every Lover of his Country must entertain against him, on account of that Part of the Character, whereof *Suetonius* * relates, that “ CÆSAR had privately gained the Tribune CURIO, by “ *immense Bribes*, TO SUFFER NOTHING PREJUDICIAL TO HIS “ INTEREST TO PASS DURING HIS MAGISTRACY.”——All the *three* Characters under fictitious Names, being intended by the Author, rather as Land-Marks to warn other Persons, in the present and future Generation, from splitting upon the same Rocks, than as the Instrument of *personal Invektive* or *Resentment*. Lest any one should be so *selfish* as to engross an Application of any particular Character to *himself*, the Author, conscious of no *personal* Malevolence to any great Person in particular, declares that he knows not even the Person of any one Member of the present or late Administration. The *personal Resentment* which possibly he may be thought to bear to one *great Man* for *personal Injuries*, has no Share in his *Satire*. On the contrary, he makes great Allowances for the Errors into which the Rage of *Party* lead many Men; and cannot suffer himself to believe but that the Injuries done, or intended to be done, to the Author, were the Result rather of the *Heat of Party*, than of any Disposition personally to prejudice a Man whom he never saw, and who had never seen him, so as *personally* to know each other. The *Public* only is an Object of a PATRIOT’S Concern. A *Poet* is a Character, of *which*, among *all* Characters, the Author has been ever the least ambitious; and the true and only Motive to his writing a *Satire* was, that as the Age was become so *corrupt* as at least to appear insensible to whatever could be urged in *Prose*, he had somewhere read

Satire will sting whom Sermons cannot hit.

* Sucton. Jul. Cæs. 29.

P R E F A C E.

xix

As to the CRITICS, those the Author

Tradit protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis.

HOR.

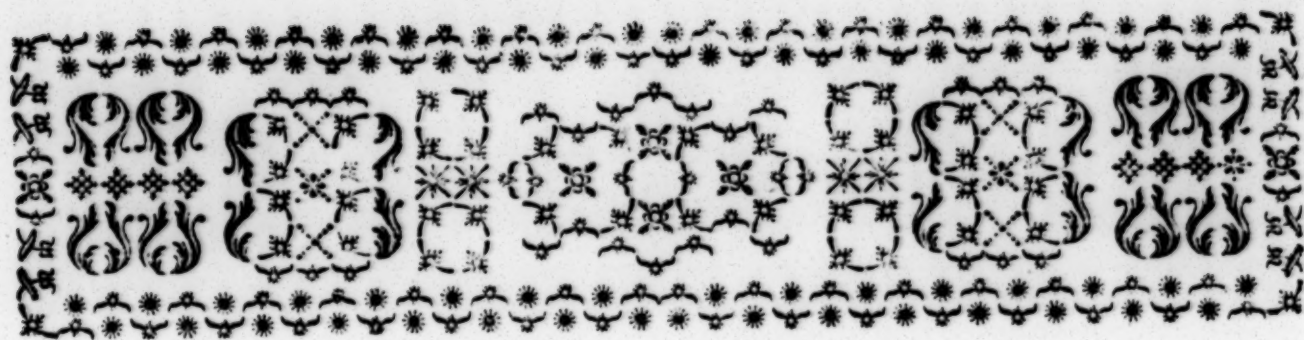
And shall conclude this Preface with an Address to them in the
Words of YOUNG,

*Hot, envious, noisy, proud, ye scribbling Fry,
Burn, hiss and bounce, waste Paper, stink, and — die!*

T H E

T H E A R G U M E N T.

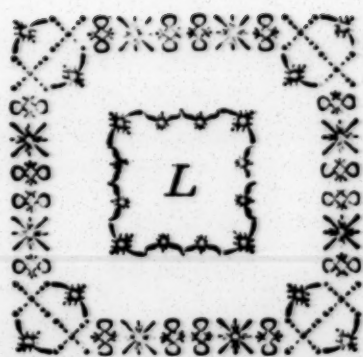
The great Discouragement to write, arising from the *Corruption* of Taste—*Eulogium* on the D. of Q—Y—The Danger of writing on *Political* Subjects—instanced in the Case of the Author—Character of a *certain* Great King in a *free* State—Definition of *true* Greatness—instanced in the Character of CLODIO—instanced in the *reverse* Character of the *Author* of CATO'S *Letters*—The Effects of *good* and *bad* Example—Character of the late SP-KER of the H. of C-MM-NS—The *Virtue* of *ancient* ROME, and Effects of it—till destroyed by *Luxury*—The Genealogy of *Corruption*, and the fatal Consequences of it to a *free* Nation—Reflections on GREAT-BR—N'S *judicious* Choice of *able* and *upright* Ministers both *at home* and *abroad*—the *Principles* and *Qualifications* necessary to such Ministers—The Advantages resulting to a Nation from such Choice—True PATRIOTISM described—The Effects of a *King's* countenancing *Merit only*—Portrait of an *honest* Minister *resigning* Power—instanced in a Character of the M. of R--CK----M—The Difficulty of finding Ministers whose Views are *solely* directed to the *real* Service of their Country—exemplified in the Character of the G--- S---.—Inconsistency of Character charged on the Author—answered—The *political* Principles of the Author—The unhappy Consequences to every Member of a Community, as well as to a Nation, in the Case of a *Minister not limiting* his *Ambition* to his *Abilities*, instanced in an impartial Delineation of the Character of SEJANUS—The Means to make a *free* People compleatly happy—*Eulogium* on L— WYM-TH—Character of L— C-MD-N as *Ch--nc--r*—Additional Persons named, the most capable of forming a *great* and *lasting* Ministry—The Happiness of GREAT-BRITAIN with regard to *Liberty*, compared to that of FRANCE—Conclusion, with an *Invocation* to LIBERTY.



P A T R I O T I S M :

A

P O L I T I C A L S A T I R E .



EARNING's great Ornament, and *Virtue's*
Friend,

O S-YD'-M ! wilt thou to my Verse attend ;
One Moment from thy fav'rite PLATO steal,
And, tho' you rob the Public, hear my Tale ?

Tell me, may my ambitious MUSE pretend
Thou art my old Acquaintance, and my Friend ?

B

Say'

Say, that you prun'd her too luxuriant Vine,
 Cut the superfluous Branches from each Line,
 And taught her docile Genius where to shine?
 That, steer'd by Thee, my Bark from Rocks safe sail'd,
 On which blind Pilots, driv'n by Folly, fail'd.

Oft am I ask'd, if I have ceas'd to write,
 Or what Piece WINTER ushers into Light;
 What *can* I write in these *flagitious* Times,
 When VICE and FLATT'RY stamp the Worth of Rhymes?
 Too weak my Genius;—head-strong VICE demands
 The Scourge of *Satire* from a CHURCHILL's Hands:
 My Muse, untaught to feign, resigns to *Slaves*,
 FLATT'RY, that Food of *Fools*, that Breath of *Knaves*.

“ Say, has not VIRTUE Charms that can inspire,
 “ Glow in thy Bosom, and thy Genius fire?”—
 VIRTUE! alas, forsaken VIRTUE's fled
 From Lands, where nought but *Vice* and *Folly* tread.
 I said: when lo!—appear'd the Heav'nly Maid,
 In all her Beauties, all her Charms array'd:

“ Mistaken

“ Mistaken Bard ! (she cry’d) I am not fled :
 “ When VICE and FOLLY rear’d their *Hydra* Head,
 “ Hov’ring I hung, unwilling to depart,
 “ And fix’d my Seat at last in QU——Y’s Heart.
 “ In *private* Life, belov’d by all Mankind ;
 “ In *public*, both his *King’s* and *Country’s* Friend :
 “ There blest I reign, from ev’ry Ill secure,
 “ FACTION’s *mad* Rage, or *sly* CORRUPTION’s Pow’r.
 “ Bare to thy Sight his Breast, you’ll not find there,
 “ That *mean* AMBITION skulks behind a *Star* :
 “ No — *inly* GREAT, and *resolutely* free,
 “ He views the Storms of the *politic*’ Sea,
 “ And, safe on Shore, in AM—B—RY’s calm Retreat,
 “ Hears the loud Surge, and mourns his *Country’s* Fate ;
 “ Where *wise* *Reflection* spreads her peaceful Wings,
 “ And *Loyalty*, with *Pity*, looks on — KINGS.”
 Too high such Subject, my *unequal* Lays
 Would seem a *Satire*, where I meant to *praise* :
 Yet, may good Angels guard him with their Ray,
 And gild with Bliss the Evening of his Day !

“ Does not thy *bleeding Country* claim thy Pen ?”
 POPE whispers me : “ Laws are explain’d by *Men*.”
 The G— S——RD * too, by Rancour led,
 Vows the most signal Vengeance on my Head ;
 To sap the Bulwark of our Rights intent,
 Tortures my Words to Meanings never meant ;
 From *Freedom’s* Tenets *Despotism* he draws,
 And swears, I rais’d *Prerogative* o’er *Laws*.—
 Pointless such Charges, impotent such Rage,
 In vain he courts ev’n S-n-tes to engage ;
 In vain he dooms my Writings to the *Fire*,
 And labours to *exalt* their Author *high’r*.
 Oh ! let such *Insects* shoot their Stings and die,
 Too low for Anger, for Contempt too high !

* A new-fledg’d Patriot, not long since an inflexible Advocate for Arb-tr-y Power ; who is said to have laboured hard in a great Aff——y to procure an Ord-r, that an Essay, written by the Author, should be burnt by the Common Hangman, and the Author p-ll-r-ed ; wherein, upon Principles of public Liberty, as well as arising from public Necessity, grounded on the *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*, he endeavoured to justify, as consistent with the true End of Government and the Spirit of the Constitution, the issuing of a Royal Proclamation for the Prohibition of the Exportation of Corn at a Time when the Parl-m--nt were not fitting, nor could not be called to sit soon enough to prevent the Calamities of a Dearth and Famine, with which the Nation was at that Time threatened.

But

P A T R I O T I S M.

5

But WHO, that makes his *Country's* Good his Care,
Unfeelingly could fit, or *calmly* hear?
What must he think of our *once-envied* State,
 If, in a *P-rl—m—ry* Debate,
 The “SALUS POPULI SUPREMA LEX,”
 Is deem'd an *obsolete*, *Old-Woman's* Text?
 Could GEORGE, who nobly glories in the Name
 Of BRITON, ever wish for BRITAIN'S Shame?
 Could HE delight in *Slaves*, whose Life display'd
 A Mind in all *free* Virtue's Charms array'd?
 No—Blest with Pow'r which he usurp'd from none,
 He rules, GREAT—HAPPY in himself alone;
 Rules in his PEOPLE'S Hearts, their *Bliss*, his *Pride*,
 The BILL OF RIGHTS and the GREAT CHART his *Guide*.—
 So breathes FAVONIUS on the fruitful Spring,
 And ev'ry Flow'r awakes with genial Wing,
 While BOREAS' furious Blast, like TYRANTS Frowns,
 In direful Waste both Flow'rs and Weeds confounds.

What is NOBILITY?—'Tis not *Fſtate*,
 Or *Birrh*, or *Title*, that can make you great,

C

For,

For, if from *Ancestors* those Honours flow,
 They are but Honours you to *others* owe ;
 Or, if those Favours you from *Courts* receive,
 To sink the *free-born* BRITON in the *Slave*,
 Honours, *thus purchas'd*, but reflect *Disgrace*,
 And *cloud* the *beaming* Glories of thy Race.—
 Though, like a Comet, you all-gay appear,
 And *Slaves* by Dozens load the *gilded Car*—
 'Tho' FORTUNE flatter thee with all her Store,
 The *Plume* of *Title*, and the *Pomp* of *Pow'r*,
 On *Virtue*, *Virtue only*, can you rise ;
 No *real* GREATNESS but in *Virtue* lies.

When COMMERCE sicken'd under W-LP-LE's Reign,
 And thy lov'd BR-T-IN bled in ev'ry Vein,
 What Virtue kindled within CURIO's Breast,
 Where all the *Roman* Patriot was confess'd !
 What pow'rful Accents trickled from his Tongue,
 Smooth as the THAMES, and as the TIBER strong !
 While *Truth* and *Spirit* with united Force,
 Stemm'd the strong Torrent of CORRUPTION's Course ;

That

That *Itch*, which, like the *Scotch Disease*, will run,
 Touch'd it infects; infected you're undone.
 Such was the *Senator*; Great PATRIOT HE,
 Who knew no Foes but Foes to *Liberty*!
 When UNIVERSAL EMPIRE's fiery Ball
 Threat'ned on trembling EUROPE's Head to fall,
 When low'ring Storms, hung ready to o'erwhelm
 The *Ship*; then by ONE Voice call'd to the Helm,
 His *Counsels* propp'd BRITANNIA's *sinking* State;
 His *Firmness* ballanc'd tott'ring EUROPE's Fate:
 Triumphs on Triumphs swell'd the Trump of Fame,
 While FR—— and SP—— *shook* ev'n at BR-T—N's *Name*;
 The bright unbounded Glory of her Throne
 Beam'd from the *setting* to the *rising* Sun *.
 Enraptur'd Senates own'd his mighty Nod;
 In *Speech* DEMOSTHENES; in *Pow'r* a GOD.—
 “ *How are the Mighty fall'n?* ”—————
 Soon as CORRUPTION whisper'd in his Ear,
 “ Rise, rise, my fav'rite Son! thy *Price* I bear; ”

* Crevère Vires, famaue et imperi
 Porrecta Majestas, ad ortus
 Solis ab Hesperio cubili. — Hor.

His *public-spirited* Professions seem
 The *mimic* Vision of a *fleeting Dream*.
 Off flew the Mask, in which his Vice was drest,
 And all the *shameless Tr—mm—r* stood confest.
 This *Roman* Champion in his Country's Cause,
 Guard of our Rights, and Bulwark of our Laws,
 Enflam'd with Lust of TITLE, or of Pow'r,
 And lull'd by *Flatt'ry's* Opiate, — *Free no more* ;
 Lur'd by false Taste, by mad Ambition sway'd,
 To B—— that Country, which he fav'd, betray'd ;
 Now *poorly rich*, her hapless Fate survives,
 And rather *barely breathes* than *truly lives* ;
 No more the *Idol* of the PEOPLE's Praise,
 He levell'd with the Ground the Pile he rais'd ;
Ignobly NOBLE, *impotently* great,
B—te—n Puppet of a tott'ring State,
 He braves the TH-NE's sly Grin, the PEOPLE's Frown,
 And b—ll—s from a Bench, with Sc-nd-l won.
 Such, such his Taste !—————
 —————So, when thy Sons, O ROME,
 Had by their Valour all the World o'ercome,

Their

Their Virtue lost, their Liberties then sold,
The World's great Conqu'rors funk — *the Slaves of Gold.*

Far different Passions TRENCHARD'S * Actions fir'd,
Far noble Principles *his* Soul inspir'd,
Whose Mind, *his own*, with *honest* Scorn could hate
A Fool with Title, or a Knaves in State.
No mean Ambition shaded his Desert;
Unstain'd *his* Hand, and uncorrupt *his* Heart;
No Party-Prejudice usurp'd *his* Breast;
No bias'd Vote a rotten Heart confess'd.
He from his Country's Int'rest never swerv'd,
But his old rigid *Honesty* preserv'd.
He held — (ah, how unlike some modern Worms!)
“ An ENGLISHMAN * should blush to serve on Terms.”
From *Ancestors*, not *Courts*, sprang his Estate;
Rich without *Rapine*, without *Title* great;

* The Author of *Cato's Letters, an Argument on a standing Army*, &c. &c. who being honoured with an Offer to be *secretary of State* on the Decease of Mr. ADDISON, when it was hinted to him that it would be expected that he should go Hand in Hand with the other Parts of the Ministry, his Answer was, that he should ever think it the greatest Happiness, as well as Honour, of his Life, to serve his Majesty in any Department to which his Abilities were equal, but to serve him upon Terms, was inconsistent with HIS CHARACTER, and the NAME of an ENGLISHMAN.

Polite with Dignity, in Taste refin'd,
 In ev'ry Thought sincere, in Pain resign'd;
 Still by the *Good* ador'd, the *Bad* approv'd,
 By all, who *Truth* and *Virtue* love, belov'd;
 Such were the living Manners of the Man!
 Such TRENCHARD was, and such the Course he ran.

Oh! that his bright Example could inflame
 Our Youth, with Love of BRITAIN and *true* Fame!
 EXAMPLE, *living Law*! whose Breath inspires
 VICE with new Force, or fans fair VIRTUE'S Fires,
Exalts the *reas'ning* Man into the God,
 Or *sinks* him — Brute in Error's dark Abode;
 For, when fair VIRTUE *stagnates* in the Brain,
 And foul CORRUPTION *clogs* the *reas'ning* Vein,
 When *false Taste* warps us to the flow'r'y Plain,
 Where SYREN *Pleasure* sings, nor sings in vain,
Man is not *Man*. Such Dictates are the Voice
 Of *ruling Passion*, not sound REASON'S Choice;
 Till *active* VIRTUE circ'lates in the Mind,
 And gives its *reas'ning* Streams to flow *refin'd*;

Refin'd,

Refin'd, as in that Scene, where WIT is SENSE,
 Where ART is NATURE; GRANDEUR, INNOCENCE;
 POLITENESS is SINCERITY of Life,
 Which knows nor Hope nor Fear, Deceit nor Strife,
 That rural SCENE, to which TRUE TASTE resorts,
 Far from the *Farce* of *Pomp*, the *Guilt* of COURTS.

“ In what far Country lies this *rural Scene*?
 “ Say, in UTOPIA dwells this *happy Mean*?”
 No. — In sage ONSL-W all those Charms engage;
 Once, *Ornament*; now, *Pattern* of the Age,
 Whom *Truth*, *Politeness*, *Sense*, united form,
 And all the social God-like Virtues warm;
 Whose Tongue a CATO's *Virtue* did inspire,
 A TULLY's *Eloquence*, — a BRUTUS' *Fire*;
 Who, in the *public* funk the *private* Care,
 And grac'd the Honours BRITAIN bid him wear,
 Skilful o'er madd'ning *Senates* to preside,
 Heighten their *Dignity*, their *Councils* guide,
 And wisely balance with impartial Weights,
 The CROWN's *Prerogative* and PEOPLE's *Rights*;

Who, by his *King* esteem'd, by *all* approv'd,
 Enjoys at Ease that *Liberty* he lov'd ;
 Happy, to see those *Virtues* in his Line,
 Reflected by his Son, with Splendor shine.

Virtue like this, gave old *ROME's* Glory birth,
 The Seat of Arts, the Mistress of the Earth.
 Not *Birth*, nor *Int'rest*, crown'd with Wreaths the Brow,
 Or call'd to Fame *Dictators* from the *Plough* ;
Places — (here *BR——N's* Shame would check my Pen)
 Were suited to the *TALENTS* — not the *Men* ;
TITLES were *VIRTUE's* Mark, not *Slav'ry's* Yoke,
 And *PATRIOTISM* was held no *STANDING JOKE*.
 Then Tides of Grandeur *TIBER's* Channel swell'd ;
 For *LIBERTY* the Helm of Empire held ;
 Till *LUXURY*, with slow but sure Deceit,
 That *Bane* of *Freedom*, *Ruin* of a *State*,
 Did her best Sons from *Virtue's* Paths entice,
 Unnerv'd their Minds, and soften'd them to *Vice* ;
 Then *POVERTY*, of *LUXURY* the Heir,
 Begat *DEPENDENCE*, foul *CORRUPTION's* Sire,

Whose

Whose *Bark* the *shameless* PARRICIDE conveys,
Thro' *Slav'ry's* *Voyage* with a *Wind* for Place.

Hence in *Elections*, *Votes* are truck'd for *Gold*,
And the *base* FREEMEN by *themselves* are *sold*;
Hence *servile* BR—B—Y in a *S—n—te* reigns,
And the *bought* M—M—R's pliant *Vote* constrains;

O BOROUGHs! CONSTITUTION's *rotten* Part!
ESAU's Descendants! *Boon* of *treacherous* Art!
Are the LAWS *silent*, *dare* they *not* to bite,
Or *still-born* — without *Life* as without *Weight*?
Where is your HAMPDEN's, RUSSEL's, SIDNEY's Blood,
Who nobly for OLD ENGLAND's Freedom stood,
Who, warm'd by *Patriotism*, by *Truth* inspir'd,
Liv'd for *her* Good, and in *her* Cause *expir'd*?

Hence *mad unnat'ral* C-NT-N-NTAL Wars,
Distract a Nation with intestine Jars;
Hence *p-bl-c* Debts on *p-bl-c* Debts increase;
And Conquerors submit to *p-rch-se* Peace;

E

Taxes

Taxes are doubled, Interest to pay ;
 And STOCK-JOBBER fits watching for its *Prey* ;
 Hence pilf'ring COM—SS—RIES *Plums create,*
Suck'd from the Bowels of a B—r—pt State ;
 ENGROSSERS hence, those LOCUSTS of a Land,
Starve the robb'd POOR, and yet, c-nn-v'd at, stand ;
 Hence an UN-TED C-MP-NY arose
Ruin of Trade, of gen'ral Good the Foes,
Harvest of M—N—G—RS those Tools of Knaves,
Market of JOBBERS which the Weak deceives ;
 Hence CREDIT *sinks,* and COMMERCE hangs her Head ;
 Exc—se Acts *Freedom's* nat'ral Rights invade,
 With Iron Rod B—TE—S BR—T—N's awe,
 And *Will, not Right,* prescribes the Rule to *Law* ;
 Evils, whose dangerous, destructive Charms
 Revenge *half-ruin'd* FR—E of —SH Arms.

Happy BRITANNIA ! that none croud thy Throne,
 But those, who seek *thy* Int'rest — *not their own ;*
 No latent Fraud, no well-dissembled Guile,
 Covers the dark Design, the treach'rous Smile ;

But

But that *thy* Interests all their Views controul,
And governs ev'ry Passion of the Soul;
That *no* CORRUPTION'S *Spawn*, *no* Tools of Pow'r,
Meer *Birds of Passage*, *Statesmen* of an *Hour*,
Like Mushrooms, rais'd to *spring up* — *rot* — and *die*,
Apostate Foes to *Truth* and LIBERTY,
Are at thy Helm call'd ever to preside,
Awe with their *Pow'r*, or with their *Brib'ry* guide.
ROME might from *Ploughs*, — You take not from a *Race*
NEWMARKET STATESMEN, NATIONAL DISGRACE!
As if 'twere JOCKEY'S Art, a *State* to guide,
And MEN were govern'd, like the HORSE they ride;
ABILITIES, not INTEREST, mark thy GREAT,
As fit, abroad, to represent thy State.
Un-like to FR—CE, YOU keep your FOOLS at HOME,
And send your MEN OF SENSE and PARTS to roam;
On *Embassies* none go but those, whose Fires
True Genius kindles, CHARACTER inspires.
A *French Fop Dress* and *Fribble-Airs* imports;
Thy Sons — *true Knowledge* bring from *foreign Courts*,
With comprehensive Head *their* Int'rests weigh,
And *not* an Ignorance of *thine* betray,

Fathom their Depths of Policy, or find
Their Shallows, in Reflection's Glafs refin'd,
Their various Commerce, Schemes, Cabals explore,
Thwart, or improve, as best may raise thy Pow'r;
No MILCH-Cow Thou, of ev'ry foreign Court!
Of FR—CE no Dupe! of P—RT—G—L no Sport!
Steer'd by such Pilots, THY Ship safe may ride,
Dare the loud Storm, and stem the angry Tide.
Wear'ft thou the Laurel or the Olive Crown,
Their Wreaths shall o'er thy Brow reflect Renown.

How blest *that* State where KING's and PEOPLE's Voice
 Unite in one *disinterested* Choice?
 How great *that* Senate, who make *Right* their End,
 Whom KING and PEOPLE call their *equal* Friend?
 How God-like is *that* Prince who rules by Laws,
 And from fair *Virtue only*, seeks Applause;
 Whose innate Goodness speaks a Royal Mind
 To VIRTUE, TRUTH, and LIBERTY inclin'd,
Sublimely graceful, and serenely great,
 King in his Subjects' Hearts — the *noblest* State!

TRUE

TRUE PATRIOTISM no fordid End perfues,
 Expands the Mind, and elevates its Views,
 Pants to serve *Virtue's* Friend; — no *Statesman's* Fool,
Freedom and *Truth* the Impulse of its Soul,
 And leaves to PENSION'D SLAVES, — CORRUPTION'S *Flies*,
 All grov'ling — selfish — solitary Joys.
 When *Royal* Favours from TRUE *Merit* springs,
 It sheds a Lustre on the Gift of *Kings*;
 When *Kings* the noble still to nobler raise,
 A People's Gratitude resounds his Praise:
 And when TRUE MERIT'S *Sons* resign a *Place*,
 It heightens *Virtue*, dignifies *Disgrace*;
 It shews, that neither *Smiles* nor *Threats* can blind,
 Or shake the steady Purpose of their Mind,
 But, in their *Honour* wrap'd, they nobly soar,
 Superior to the *Lust* or *Loss* of *Pow'r*,
 And, scorning their lov'd *Country* to inthrall,
 Tho' great in *Pow'r*, rise greater from their *Fall*.
 Slave to no *Minister*, I dare to own,
 Among those *Few*, that R—CK—GH—M is one.
 TRUE PATRIOTISM, by Principle refin'd,
 Pour'd all its gen'rous Ardours thro' his Mind:

His *Country's* Good with each *unbias'd* Pow'r
 He fought, *ennobling* Honours which he wore :
 But, as a *true-born* ENGLISHMAN disdains
 To wear a SC——N's *ignominious* Chains :
 Like some *great* ACTOR, he with *Honour* made
 His *Exit* in a *Part* with *Glory* play'd,
 And left with *Dignity* the *public* Stage,
 Justly convinc'd of CATO's wise Adage ;
 " When *Vice* prevails, and *impious* Men grow great,
 " The Post of *Honour* is a private State." *

Ye INS and OUTS, a *party-colour'd* Crew !
 With all your *boasted* PATRIOTIC *Shew*,
 Tell me, WHO of your *temporizing* Train
 Would labour for our *Good* — without the *Gain* ?
 Like R——CK——GH——M, so singularly *weak*,
 Would serve his *Country* for his *Country's* Sake ?
 And " Can such Weakness reign in noble Souls ?" †
 Cries G—— S——RD, whom no *Mean* controuls ;

* Addison's Cato.

† ——— Tantæne animis cœlestibus, &c. ——— VIRG.

No *King* could govern, and no *People* please,
Restless in *Trust*, *impatient* of *Disgrace* :
 In *TRUST*, *rapacious* of the *public* Pay,
Av'rice, the *Spring* ; *OECONOMY* the *Plea* ;
 Nor less intent *new* *Maxims* to explore,
 And *sacrifice* our *Rights* to *abs'lute* Pow'r,
 To bind Am—r—c—ns in G—ll—c Y——e
 Ch—rt—rs, those *Pillars* of a *State*, he broke.
 DISGRAC'D, he bellows for the *public* Weal,
 And veils his *Crimes* with *Freedom's* *fiſtious* Zeal.
 Say what this *Impar ſibi*, but a *Mind*
 To *ruin* or to *rule* the *State* inclin'd ?
 To plead the *public* Good, but *mean*—HIS OWN,
 Guiltless of *Principle*, to *Truth* unknown ?
 “ But tell us, *ſpotleſs* Sir ! Do you not find
 “ As great an *Impar ſibi* in your *Mind* ?
 “ Reign'd *CURIO* not in thy *Proſaic* Pen,
 “ *Ableſt* of *Minifters*, and *beſt* of *Men* ?
 “ Why muſt *he* now be broke on *Satire's* *Wheel* ?
 “ Why *he*, thy *Friend*, with *Foes* her *Scourges* feel ?
 “ Has he refused thee—from a *Want* of *Grace*,
 “ *Poor Ireland's* *Penſion*, or a *J—dg—'s* *Place* ?”

Ev'n CURIO's Levee ne'er was *my* Refort :
 No STATESMAN's *Frowns* I dread, nor *Favours* court.
Truth will *Duplicity* abominate :
 The TRIBUNE I *ador'd* — the P—r I hate ;
Justly *ador'd* the TRIBUNE ! but the P—R
 Pluck'd down the Statues to the *Tribune* rear'd.
 I deem no Man my *Foe*, but ENGL—D's Foe,
 No *Friend*, but who is Engl—d's Friend, I know.
 “ What Party, Sir ? ” No Party — to be short ;
 No *Tool* of *Faction*, and no *Slave* of *Court* ;
 Equal to act in *Freedom's* sacred Cause,
 Or serve a PATRIOT KING who rules by Laws ;
 Firm to steer 'twixt (too conscious of their Springs)
Licentious C—MM—NS and *encroaching* K—NGS,
 That SCYLLA and CHARIBDIS of a State ;
Rocks, which some *shifting* *Statesmen* see too late.

'Tis strange to think, but yet we see, how few
 Know their own Pow'rs, or, knowing them, pursue.
 Of this *one* Instance, 'midst the *many* rest,
 SEJANUS, great SEJANUS, stands confest,

Adorn'd

Adorn'd with ev'ry Gift and Art to please,
 Humble with Dignity, Polite with Ease,
 Grac'd with an EMP'ROUR's Love, endu'd with Sense,
Patron of Learning, *learn'd* beyond Pretence;
 No airy Pleasure cheated him with Name;
 Kindled by Worth he burn'd with *social* Flame
 In *private* Life, as *Husband*, *Father*, Friend,
 Stranger to SELF *alone* — that *narrow* End.
 But then — his *Rock* was Genius to mistake,
 And *second* Talents for the *first* to take;
 The Summit of Ambition fir'd his Soul,
 Nor could his UNCLE's * sage Advice controul,
 A *Lust* of Pow'r, by Prudence unrestrain'd,
 The Lustre of his *private* Virtues stain'd:

* It is mentioned in History as an Anecdote of *Sejanus*, that, *before* his Master came to be *Emperor*, his *Uncle* (a PATRICIAN no less distinguished for his very eminent Abilities than for high Posts he held in the *Roman* State) told *Sejanus* that, “ in case his *Master*, when he came to be *Emperor*, should be inclined to make him “ *Minister*, a Mark of special Grace and personal Regard with which, he *foresaw*, “ it was not improbable that he would be honoured, he advised him by no means “ to accept it, as a Post to which his Abilities were not equal, and the Principles in “ which he had been educated were not adapted; for that in his Opinion it would “ be his *Ruin* :” adding, “ That if he would be content to *limit* his *Ambition* to his “ *Abilities*, he would make a shining Figure on the *public* as well as *private* Stage of “ Life.”

Unequal to the Province he perſu'd,
 He ſtoop'd not to the Task he underſtood;
 But, by a *boundleſs Rage* for *Pow'r* poſſeſs'd,
 By *Sycophants* beſieg'd, by *Kn—ves* careſs'd,
 He ſeiz'd the Reins of Empire with mad Joy,
 And ſeem'd to govern — *only to deſtroy*;
 Till, *bunted* by the *Good*, by *all* diſprais'd,
Deſerted by the *very Tools* he rais'd,
 He tumbled from the Pinnacle of Pow'r,
 The *Phaetontic* Stateſman of an Hour.

Let *foul* CORRUPTION, from a conſcious Dread,
 Sicken in Shades, and hide her baneful Head!
 Let FACTION, ſtripp'd by UNION of her Creſt,
 Die on the Spear ſhe rais'd to pierce her Breſt!
 Let PARTY-Rage, that *Waſte* of *Britiſh* Fire,
 By Madneſs kindled, *Taper-like* expire!
 Then ſhall *one* Conteſt in *all* Ranks prevail,
 That *nobleſt* Conteſt — for the PUBLIC WEAL.
 Our *Stateſmen*, *Patriots* in more than — *Word*,
 Shall think that “ VIRTUE IS HER OWN REWARD; ”

Shall

Shall strive to exalt BRITANNIA's *drooping* Head,
 Nourish her Arts, and raise her *sinking* Trade,
 Add to her Glory, aggrandize her Pow'r,
 And o'er the Land their halcyon Influence show'r;
Influence so *justly* pois'd, as stands confest
 To make the MONARCH *great*, the PEOPLE *blest*.

Then noble W—YM—TH, on whose magic Tongue
 Old *Romans* with Attention might have hung,
 Shall *know* his *mental* Pow'rs, and boldly rise
 Unpropp'd, and on *his own* Base, to the Skies;
 Shall *know*, his *past* Connexions are but vain,
 And loose his Neck from such *ignoble* Chain,
 Whilst *list'ning* *Senates*, guided by his Skill,
 Confess, in *him* they hear great *Tully* still.
 JUSTICE shall guard our Rights, nor dread Disgrace,
 While C—MD—N adds new Lustre to the Place,
 Who, rob'd in *Honour*, *Equity*, and *Law*,
 Rescues th' *Oppressed* from th' *Oppressor's* Claw,
 Softens *Law's* Rigour, smoothes the Brow of Care,
 Nor leaves to TRUTH or INNOCENCE a Fear;

Whose *nervous Rhet'ric*, clear *discerning Head*,
 And *just Decrees* diffusive Blessings shed ;
 Which to *all Ranks* and Persons he displays,
Impartial like the SUN, with *equal Rays*.
 But how can Worth, like *his*, by *me* be shown,
 That asks the Tongue of CH—TH—M, or ——— *his own* ?
 T—MPLE and GR—NTH—M, as *chief Scribes*, shall guide,
 And EGM—T o'er the ADM'RALTY preside ;
 Polite with Dignity, with Knowledge stor'd,
 Great L—TTLET—N shall grace the *Council-Board* ;
 STR—GE, N—RTH, and C—NW—Y shall the C—mm—ns lead,
 And H—L—F—X adorn the Board of *Tr—de*.
 Here I must stop ——— a *Financer* refin'd,
 A COLBERT or a WALPOLE ——— *Time* must find.

Let FR—CE's dastard Sons, thro' *bigot Fear*,
 Base SLAVES, embrace the shameful Chains they wear :
 Happy BRITANNIA ! who alone can boast
 That Freedom *other* abject States have lost :
 With Iron Rod shall K—s thy Fasces break,
 And bow beneath a servile Yoke *thy Neck* ?

Forbid

Forbid it, Pow'rs ABOVE!

" O LIBERTY!

" *Our Boast, our Right, our sole Felicity,*

" *For whom in ANCIENT Times thy Sons have fought*

" *Thro' Fields of Death, nor thought thee dearly bought,*

" *Do thou, AS ERST, their free-born Breasts inspire*

" *With sanguine Love of THEE —with ROMAN Fire!*

" *Charge them to guard thy Laws, thy sacred Laws,*

" *Writ with their Fathers' Blood, OR—PERISH IN THY CAUSE!*

F I N I S.



